252 They may not heat camel's milk which has just been milked
825 under penalty of causing sickness to the animal which gave it.

264 Insofar as personal interdicts are concerned, there are none to speak of, for although men and women must not eat together, this is a custom rather than an interdict.

[606] A married man must not eat with his parents-in-law, and the oldest son must not eat with his father. These are mainly marks of respect, perhaps traces of ancient practices of a religious nature.

/240/ Chapter 4

Hunting and Fishing

080 We shall now say a few words on the industries allied to the problems of food, that is, on hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, and agriculture.

136 Hunting. -- In a country where fauna was at all dense, hunting
174 would have brought a not inconsiderable dietary supplement to the Ihaggaren. In the past it was very much esteemed in the Sahara. Many rock drawings and paintings prove this, for they depict hunting scenes which interpret the state of civilization of the men, their preoccupation, and at the same time the nature of the fauna, which has changed a great deal since then.

[132] Today, with the very advanced drying out of almost all the
224 Saharian districts, the fauna has come out into the open and the species likely to be usefully hunted are reduced to a few. Only gazelles and wild sheep are still hunted. We cannot mention the addax and oryx antelopes, for the former is in the process of becoming extinct in the Sahara, while the second is confined to the steppe zone. The hare and jackal may be accessorily added.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

582 [178] Marriages to cross-cousins are justified by myths telling that as long as there have been Tuareg there have also been marriages of this type. There are also legends or stories to prove that such marriages have always been good, other types of marriages bad. Cross-cousin marriage is further said to be preferred because it [581] results in an exchange of individuals and livestock between two families. Finally [605] cross-cousin marriage is considered the best type of marriage because institutional joking exists between cross-cousins. For although joking between cross-cousins will stop with marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between husband and wife is said to reduce troubles and quarrels between them.

605 606 221 Among the Kel Ferouan joking between cross-cousins goes together with joking between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and also with avoidance between children-in-law and parents-in-law. Radcliffe-Brown has explained these two different types of behaviour as parts of one and the same system within which they have an identical social function, namely that of preventing conflicts (Radcliffe-Brown 1950, p. 56ff.; 1952, p. 90 ff.). I have elsewhere treated this theory (Nicolaisen 1957a, 1957b, 1959b). Here I shall content myself with the statement that my Tuareg material seems to confirm the theory set forth by Radcliffe-Brown, the more so as I have been able to find cases of transition between the two outwardly most different modes of behaviour. The extent to which joking is carried on between partners of the same sex is always dependent on age. Between two male cross-cousins or two brothers-in-law there will be little or no joking if they are of very different age, and in very extreme cases joking may in fact change into avoidance. It is also interesting that in most Kel Ferouan clans there is institutional joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife. According to the rules of preferential mating she may later become his mother-in-law, whom in that case he must avoid very strictly. This custom, however, does not seem to be found in [184] the Iforas clans which were adopted into the Kel Ferouan drum-group about a hundred years ago. I think that Radcliffe-Brown's theory on joking and avoidance is very important, and I shall later in this study present material to support it.

601 614 The particular position of cross-cousins is indicated in the kinship system (fig. 8)[1] which also shows that there are particular terms for children of cross-cousins and for certain matrilineal relatives. As clans, according to traditional rules, are groups of matrilineally related persons it would seem natural that succession to clan chieftainship followed the maternal line. This is also stated by Nicolas, who claims the line of succession to be as follows:– 1) the brother of the deceased chief; 2) his mother's sister's son; 3) his sister's son. According to Nicolas this rule of succession also holds for the Ahaggar Tuareg and for the Kel Geres (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.). Rodd states the traditional rule of succession in Air as matrilineal. But he claims 614 that the deceased chief's sister's son is the first in line, and he refers to the fact that 643 this rule has often been followed at the election of Sultans (Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.).

It is frequently mentioned in the literature on various Tuareg groups that the

[1] [p. 102, categor 116.—Analyst]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

of his parallel cousins and cross-cousins as his brothers-in-law *(alegges,* pl. *ilousan),* or sisters-in-law *(taleggest,* pl. *tilousin),* while the spouses of descendants of all brothers, sisters, and cousins will be his sons-in-law *(aḍeggal,* pl. *iḍoulan),* or daughters-in-law *(taḍeggalt,* pl. *teḍoulin).* These terms are always used reciprocally, and parents-in-law and children-in-law will avoid each other accordingly.

Apparently most vassal clans were faithful to their drum-chief and recognized his authority. But Tuareg pastoralists led a turbulent and warlike life, and the members of certain noble clans, or clans listed as vassals but probably of noble origin, would not accept the leadership of the drum-chief although they belonged to his group. Thus there were many quarrels with the noble Kel Azel Tuareg. It is said that in the past the drum-chief more than once punished them very severely not only taking all their livestock but also burning down their camps.

The three clans of Kel Tedale in Northern Air were only nominally part of the Kel Ferouan drum-group. My information confirms Joubert's statement that the Kel Tedale paid no tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief or to chiefs of other drum-groups in Air (Joubert 1939, p. 246). The political independence of the Kel Tedale is also stated by Jean (Jean 1909, p. 104). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim the Kel Tedale to be true vassals of their drum-chief, and both Jean and Nicolas list them as vassals (Jean 1909, p. 104. – Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). Rodd thinks that both noble and vassal Tuareg were originally found in the three clans the homeland of which was probably Ahaggar (Rodd 1926a, p. 427) The Kel Tedale Tuareg I met all emphasized their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by Kel Ferouan vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the Kel Tedale. That some of them are noble by origin seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the Kel Tedale in part are related to the Ihaḍanaren clan of Tassili-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter clan is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

The Kel Tedale were so numerous, so rich in camels, and lived so remote from the rest of the Kel Ferouan clans that the drum-chief could not maintain his power over them. The drum-chief also had trouble with another clan of his group, the Kel Akarra. This clan is said to have been originally of noble status and to have had as its particular vassals the clan of Ibararochchiten. The drum-chief assisted by vassals of the whole group in the past imposed vassalship upon the Kel Akarra, who however refused to give him part of their bride-wealth. It is said that the drum-chief three times made war against the Kel Akarra to bring them to submission and each time they were severely beaten. Nevertheless they refused to pay bride-wealth to the chief, who then ceased to claim it. As a result of these wars the Kel Akarra clan became small and insignificant.

A certain discord reigned within the Kel Ferouan group, but the drum-chief had the support of most clans of vassals who at his order would fight not only foreign Tuareg groups but also quell internal insurrections.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

826 832 get more sexual satisfaction from intercourse with them. "A fat woman is like a woman who has never known a man", they say. Some women are steatopygous though never to the same extent as women among the Bushmen and the Hottentot. Very comprehensive studies of Tuareg physical anthropology are lacking. Readers are referred to the chapter written by Lhote who has also published a brief bibliography of studies on this subject (Lhote 1955a, p. 158–170, 433), and to the recent and valuable publication by Briggs (Briggs 1958, p. 163 ff., 183 ff.).

291 The custom of Tuareg face veiling has attracted the curiosity of many scholars and travellers. Much has been written about the fact that Tuareg men wear a veil (*tagulmust* in Ahaggar, *tagulmust* in Ayr) while their women are unveiled in contrast to Arab custom. There have been given various explanations of the origin of the custom of Tuareg face veiling. Most authors refer it to hygienic conditions: the veil protects the face from sand and dust, and it prevents mouth, nose, and throat from drying up in hot weather. The fact is that the veil has the latter function, and Arab bedouins of the Sahara will also frequently veil their faces during journeys in the hot season. But the hygienic explanation is definitely not the reason why the Tuareg also veil themselves in many situations where face veiling is unpractical and unpleasant. Another explanation of the custom of face veiling is that the veil may perhaps have certain religious or magic functions. This explanation is apparently also insufficient. A [254] few Tuareg have claimed that the veil may yield protection from persons having an "evil eye" or an "evil mouth" - beliefs known in Ahaggar as *tehot*, in Ayr as *tugarchet*. But as I have stated elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1957a, p. 112; 1961, p. 114) the proper function of face veiling seems to be a social one. 291 576 Many Tuareg will leave their face uncovered in family camps or on journeys, but they will always [609] [606] cover mouth, nose, and brow in the presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) and in the presence of their parents-in-law (particularly their mothers-in-law). Towards such persons it is also considered very indecent to show one's legs. It has been overlooked by most authors that Tuareg women wear a head-cloth (*ékerhey* in Ahaggar, *adalil* in Ayr), which is similar to the veil worn by men in form and shape. The headcloth and the veil are properly made from Sudanese indigo cotton, and both the veil and the headcloth are therefore also known as *alechchu*. It is true that Tuareg women [609] [606] do not veil their face by means of this headcloth in the same way as do the men. But in the presence of foreigners (particularly foreign men) and towards fathers-in-law the women will draw their headcloth over their mouth (cf. Fig. 297a). The man's veil and the woman's headcloth have identical social functions which is also proved by the fact that young men and women adopt veil or headcloth at initiation (Ahaggar), or at marriage (Ayr). Both the veil and the headcloth are worn by people of various black-skinned castes of Tuareg country but the custom of face veiling seems to be more strictly observed among the true Tuareg.

181 The custom of face veiling is one characteristic of all Tuareg. Another quality peculiar to all Tuareg, and particularly to those of the noble class, is their "snobbishness" as it is frequently called by many Frenchmen living at Tamanrasset and Agadez. There are a great many things a Tuareg cannot do, and there are many situations in which he will have to act in a very special way if he is to be regarded as a man worthy of respect and prestige. Tuareg attitudes to etiquette are not easily described in words. Gait, gestures, and postures are all intended to express qualities of elegance, arrogance, refinement, and strength. Vanity with regard to dress and ornaments is another characteristic of all true Tuareg.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 234. Photograph illustrating the Tuareg cotton shirt open (left) and closed (right). The two Tuareg are playing a sort of draughts called *koraḍ*. Ahaggar, the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

291 with an opening for the head, and folded and sewn together at the lower part of the sides. The folded
294 piece of cotton may also be united at its lower parts by the insertion of a trapeze-like piece of cotton known as *tébanik*. The cotton shirt worn by most Tuareg men in Ayr is known as *tekeṭket*, and is of the same poncho cut as the shirts mentioned above from Ahaggar.

All Tuareg men wear large and wide cotton trousers known as *ékerbey*. The cut of these trousers is the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A pair of trousers I wore when among the Ayr Tuareg is 1.10 m wide at the waist where they have a channel for the insertion of a leather cord (*tamennalt*) by means of which the trousers are laced up. The total length of the trouser legs is 1.06 m, so that the width is a little larger than the length. The trousers are sewn from three pieces of cotton. They consist of a front and back piece identically cut and sewn together at the sides; a third piece of cotton is inserted between the legs (Fig. 236).

291 The trousers are extremely large and loose. They are well-suited not only for the hot desert climate but also for camel riding. The Tuareg sometimes pull their trousers up over the knees so that they are entirely bare-legged. They do this, for instance, when they water domestic animals from wells and in various other situations where long trousers are embarassing. But they will never pull up their
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606 trousers in presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) or in the presence of parents-in-law (particularly mothers-in-law). For it is extremely shameful for a man to show himself bare-legged to persons to whom he must also not show his mouth, and the Tuareg express this fact by saying that "the veil and the trousers are brothers". In general, young boys wear a shirt of poncho type, in addition to which many of them also wear a leather loin-cloth (*arǧaǧ* in Ahaggar) made of goat skin. Such loin-cloths are attached around the waist and drawn between the legs. They are worn by certain vassal boys and by young slaves almost up to the time of initiation and veil adoption, and trousers may be adopted at the same time as the veil. It seems as if the loin-cloth has also once been a traditional garment of grown men, for Rodd states that they sometimes wear a tanned skin around the loins below the trousers – more especially in bush country where burr grass is very prevalent (Rodd 1926a, p. 164).

[Text continues on p. 292]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

any insolence, even the tearing away of a cross-cousin's veil in public. Insolence always incurs retaliation, and joking frequently gives rise to *tebbillant*, that is a sham-fight. A fight of this kind will normally end with the loosing part running away with something belonging to his cousin. He gives this back only if he feels like it, for cross-cousins are allowed to take each other's things. The same type of joking exists between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law in Ahaggar and in Ayr.

(4) There is avoidance between parents-in-law and children-in-law in the way that a man avoids very strictly his mothers-in-law, a woman very strictly her fathers-in-law. This rule of conduct is valid for all Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr. A man should not talk to his mother-in-law, and must never eat in her presence; he will avoid her tent, and if visiting her camp he will live at a distance of about one hundred metres from her. Similar rules hold for a woman and her father-in-law. Avoidance is less strictly observed between a man and his father-in-law, and there is generally very little avoidance between a woman and her daughter-in-law.

So far we have seen that the Tuareg of Ahaggar and the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr follow the same rules of kinship behaviour. But there seems to be one important distinction between the two Tuareg groups. For in Ayr there is an institutional joking relationship (*adélen*) with the wives of mother's brothers including the spouses of the classificatory mother's brothers. This type of joking is similar to that of cross-cousins. The initiative for joking is taken by the mother's brother's wife who begins to tease her husband's sisters' children even when they are babies. The little children soon learn to retaliate and they quickly become those who take the initiative in joking and teasing. – I do not believe that this type of joking with a mother's brother's wife is practised in Ahaggar. It has been denied by informants, but it may perhaps be practised by members of certain tribes which originate in Ayr wherefrom they have immigrated to Ahaggar. Joking with a mother's brother's wife is also unknown in the *Ifoɣas* tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. These tribes arrived in Ayr about a hundred years ago from Adraɣ of the Ifoɣas, where Tuareg have no joking relationship with a mother's brother's wife.

(5) We should mention as a characteristic of Tuareg kinship behaviour that it is considered the right of a man to take domestic animals from particular kinsmen.

In Ahaggar a man can take animals from his father, his father's father, his true mother's brothers, from certain classificatory mother's brothers (mother's mother's sister's son; mother's mother's brother, and the latter's son), from his mother's father, who is not a classificatory mother's brother by name, but it is said that he is much like a mother's brother to the person in question. In addition, cross-cousins, as mentioned above, can take each other's property.

In Ayr it is said that apart from his right to take domestic animals from his cross-cousins a man can also take animals from his parents and his true mother's brothers, though not allowed to take them from any of his classificatory mother's brothers.

I have enquired particularly among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr about this right to take animals from kinsmen. They said that if a man wants to take animals from a kinsman it is necessary for him to inform the "victim" about it through a third person shortly after he has done so. If he does not mention to somebody else that he has taken animals from one of his kinsmen, the act is considered a kind of ordinary theft. But if the "victim" is informed about the matter shortly after the animals have been taken, he can generally not complain about it, as this is considered very poor behaviour.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

582 In case of cross-cousins of different sex, the difference in age does not seem to diminish joking
604 between them, and it is most interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have an institutional joking
606 relationship in the case of a mother's brother's wife (cf. p. 455). This joking relationship, like that between cross-cousins and in-laws of the same generation, is definitely also a relationship of great friendship, and it has a very particular function in connection with cross-cousin marriage. For if a man marries the cross-cousin who is considered the best possible spouse, namely his mother's brother's daughter, it is evident that mother's brother's wife with whom he has a relationship of intense joking will become his mother-in-law. In other words:— When a man marries according to traditional rules he will acquire a reciprocal avoidance relationship to a woman with whom he had intense joking until marriage. So it seems as if joking between a man and his mother's brother's wife serves the purpose of preventing conflicts and creating a bond of friendship between a man and his future mother-in-law.

606 It can be added that the relationship between a man and his mother-in-law is normally one of great friendship, though they very often avoid each other to the extent that they never speak together. A son-in-law and a mother-in-law will frequently exchange gifts during visits to each others' camps, but will generally avoid each other in the way that a man visiting his mother-in-law's camp will stay at a distance of up to a hundred metres from her tent. The relationship of avoidance is somewhat different in case son-in-law and mother-in-law live together in the same camp, though they will always avoid each other to the extent that they talk extremely little to one another and never eat in each other's presence.

602 Joking and avoidance between Tuareg in-laws no doubt constitute a fixed system of behaviour
582 adapted to a particular marriage type, namely that with a cross-cousin – ideally with a mother's brother's daughter. If a man marries a woman with whom he has no blood relationship he will practise joking with his brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and avoidance towards his parents-in-law. His behaviour towards all these in-laws will not differ from that he would adopt towards his in-laws if he were married to a cross-cousin. But if a man marries a kinswoman who is not his cross-cousin he will not always obtain relationships of joking and avoidance towards all in-laws. To illustrate this I mention the following examples from the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group:—

(1) If a man marries the daughter of a true cross-cousin he will not achieve any joking relations with his brothers and sisters-in-law. He will not avoid a cross-cousin who is his parent-in-law, but he will cease to joke with him or her. The same rule is probably valid for the cross-cousin's spouse, who will be a classificatory brother-in-law or a sister-in-law.

(2) If a man marries a daughter of a classificatory cross-cousin he may joke with his brothers and sisters-in-law, but there will be no avoidance relationships in regard to the parents-in-law.

(3) If a man marries the daughter of a classificatory child or a classificatory sister's child there will be joking with his brothers and sisters-in-law. I assume that in this case there will also be avoidance between a man and his parents-in-law.

(4) If a man marries a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter there will be no joking with his true brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, but there will be some avoidance towards the parents-in-law.

Joking, and to some extent also avoidance, are modes of behaviour which are particularly adapted
000 to cross-cousin marriage, or to marriages with foreign women. The same is perhaps the case with

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
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582 p. 168 ff.). I do not want to judge this theory as I have little personal knowledge of the North African
583 Arabs who practise marriage with a paternal cousin. However, the argument that one of the chief
[114] functions of the bride-wealth is the confirmation of the social position of the children of a marriage, seems also valid for bride-wealth customs among people who practise preferential paternal cousin marriage, for it is clear that should a man marry a father's brother's daughter she will not have to change her social group after marriage. Furthermore, the fathers of the groom and the bride are brothers who among North African Arabs may own livestock and other types of property in common.

T
582 Tuareg cross-cousin marriage is symetrical, but the very best cross-cousin to marry is the true
604 mother's brother's daughter. This would seem to agree with the very close relationship between a
613 man and his mother's brother of the same matrilineage. A man has succession rights after his mother's brother, and many Tuareg say that the relationship between sister's son and mother's brother is as close as that between father and son. A man should do his outmost to defend his mother's brother, and it is very likely that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter has as its chief function the reinforcement of the matrilineage. It can here be added that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter will not easily lead to quarrels between the families of the married couple, because the fathers of the groom and the bride are cross-cousins and/or brothers-in-law, and consequently there is an institutional joking relationship between them.

We should perhaps explain Tuareg marriage with a mother's brother's daughter in the light of its importance for the reinforcement and maintenance of the matrilineage which has important social functions in Tuareg society. However, this marriage type does not exempt the groom or his family from paying bride-wealth.

T
[171] It is interesting to note that among the South African Bantu, who give bride-wealth (*lobola*) at a marriage, the groom is expected to assist his parents-in-law whenever they need his help (Krige 1937,
T
606 p. 113). This is also so among the Tuareg who clajm that parents-in-law and sons-in-law should always support each other even if they be in-laws of dissolved marriages from which bride-wealth has not been claimed back. Indeed, some Tuareg consider it a very good thing to have contracted several marriages and thus to have obtained many in-laws who are expected to assist their son-in-law when he needs their help.

T
582 Finally, I add the statement of some Ahaggar Tuareg that bride-wealth payment is often considered
583 less essential where a man has married a maternal cousin or her daughter because in that event husband and wife are maternal relatives who, in case maternal cousin marriage is practised within their families, may be closely related also in the paternal line.

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585 Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the marriage is ratified by representatives of the groom and the bride
[793] before an *Aneslem*, that is to say a marabut. This may take place on the first day of the wedding ceremony, but it may as well be done days, weeks, or even months before the wedding takes place. The parents of the groom and the bride may have the marriage ratified even though their children do not want to be married. The wedding ceremonies in Ahaggar and Ayr differ slightly, but they are no doubt functionally identical.

In Ahaggar the marriage ceremony is briefly as follows:—

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

initiation rites. Arnold van Gennep in his famous study on rites of passage long ago pointed out the universal occurrence of such rites including wedding ceremonies (van Gennep 1909). But it seems as if their functional position has never been described in great detail, so I shall now try to analyse Tuareg wedding ceremonies where the groom and the bride were cross-cousins as prescribed by traditional marriage customs. Such a marriage gives rise to important modifications of kinship behaviour as follows:—

(1) Until their marriage the groom and the bride had a joking relationship to one another. It seems as if this tends to stop before marriage when the groom and the bride have come to know each other well but even though joking may cease before marriage, the position of the two cross-cousins becomes entirely different once they have married. For though the two have almost the same rights, the wife is expected to show her husband great respect, and while the husband will always address his wife by her name this is not reciprocal. A wife cannot address her husband by his name, but must call him *amyar* which means "the old one" in a respectful sense. It is used as a designation for all elderly people to whom respectful behaviour is necessary, and is also a term for tribal chiefs (cf. p. 396). In Ayr a wife may also address her husband as *mai-gidā*, a word of Hausa origin, but with much the same meaning. The wife may also address her husband as the father of one of their children, e.g., *adda n Mokhammed*, that is "Mohammed's father". The wife's behaviour towards her husband should on the whole be very much like that of a person towards people of ascending generations. She is not expected to talk too much in her husband's company, and must not talk at all when strangers are visiting the camp. – One of the functions of the wedding ceremony is change of the free behaviour between partners into a respect relation. All Tuareg questioned about the matter have admitted that during the wedding ceremony they have felt almost "afraid" or "ashamed" towards the wife. Some of them say that though they already knew the bride extremely well sexually they did not cohabit with her during the seven days' stay in the wedding tent.

(2) The husband and the wife enter into a great many in-law relationships as the result of their marriage. To some of these in-laws joking has already been established owing to the cross-cousin relationship. To other brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, joking is adopted only after marriage. This of course is true of all brothers and sisters-in-law should husband and wife have no blood-relationship to each other. – The newly-married couple enters into an elaborate avoidance-relationship to their true and classificatory parents-in-law. Their position towards these relations before marriage was one of respect, which is now reinforced by avoidance. In Ayr the husband changes his joking relations with mother's brother's wife into avoidance. It seems as if avoidance relations established at a marriage partly explain the wedding ceremony, for the Tuareg say that a young and newly-married couple will sometimes stay in the wedding tent more than seven days on the grounds that they are afraid to emerge and meet the parents-in-law.

It seems as if the wedding ceremony in its whole arrangement corresponds well to the modification of kinship behaviour at a marriage. The dominating position of the husband is intimated by the fact that he comes first to the tent which is entered in a more direct way than is the case for the wife who comes later. It would seem as if the ceremony is less suited to marriages like those with a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter, as in such marriages the kinship behaviour of the spouses and in-